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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 0478

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, NATO

SUBJ: CSCE: DISCUSSIONS AT EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: A. USNATO 0450 B. DUBLIN 162 C. BONN 01430

1. THE MISSION TRANSMITS BELOW ITS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE
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TEXT OF THE ITALIAN REPORT ON EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS' DECISIONS
RE CSCE. WE NOTE THIS REPORT COVERS MUCH OF THE GROUND ALREADY
REPORTED IN REFS B AND C. ITALIAN REPORT, HOWEVER, PROVIDES
USEFUL ADDITIONAL DETAIL, PARTICULARLY ON HOW EC NINE VIEW

PROGRESS ACHIEVED THUS FAR AND UPCOMING TACTICAL SITUATION.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

AT ITS JANUARY 24, 1975 DUBLIN MEETING, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE NINE APPROVED A REPORT OF THE CSCE SUBCOMMITTEE CONCERNING VARIOUS ASPECTS ON THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS. THE DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

A. PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS

THE FORMULA PROPOSED ON JULY 26 BY THE AMERICAN DELEGATION, AND SUPPORTED BY THE NINE, FOR INSERTION IN THE FIRST PRINCIPLE (SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF STATES) HAS NOT BEEN THE SUBJECT OF OFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE. HOWEVER BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT ON THIS TEXT ARE UNCERTAIN. THE PREVAILING OPINION AMONG THE NINE IS THAT THE DISCUSSIONS MUST CONTINUE ON THE BASIS OF THE POSITIVE FORMULA OF JULY 26.

B. EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES AND LINK BETWEEN THEM

PARTICULAR ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE PERTINENT PARAGRAPHS OF THE FRENCH TEXT. THE FOLLOWING THREE IDEAS IN THESE PARAGRAPHS ARE CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL BY THE NINE:

1. THE EQUAL IMPORTANCE OF PRINCIPLES FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE;

2. APPLICATION OF EACH PRINCIPLE WITHOUT RESERVATION;

3. EACH PRINCIPLE MUST BE CONSTRUED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OTHERS. AS REGARDS THIS POINT, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONVINCE THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT EITHER THE SENTENCE IN THE FRENCH DRAFT OR THE CORRESPONDING PHRASE OF THE DECLARATION ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS, OR ANOTHER FORMULATION SUCH AS: "EACH PRINCIPLE MUST BE CONSTRUED TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE OTHERS."

C. FRENCH AMENDMENT

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THE FRENCH DELEGATION TABLED ON DECEMBER 12 THE FOLLOWING TEXT, WHICH IS CONTAINED IN THE NEW VERSION OF ARTICLE 10 OF THE FRENCH DRAFT: "THE PARTICIPATING STATES NOTE THAT THE PRESENT (TITLE OF DOCUMENT) CANNOT AND WILL NOT AFFECT THEIR RIGHTS, OBLIGATIONS OR RESPONSIBILITIES, NOR THE TREATIES, AGREEMENTS, OR ARRANGEMENTS IN CONFORMITY WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW WHICH REFLECT THEM, PREVIOUSLY ENTERED INTO BY THOSE STATES OR WHICH CONCERN THEM." THE SUB-COMMITTEE FELT THAT THE BEST PLACE FOR THIS RESERVATION WOULD BE IN THE FINAL CLAUSES.

THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS EXPRESSED ITS AGREEMENT WITH THIS TEXT WHICH COULD, HOWEVER, RAISE DIFFICULTIES FROM OTHER DELEGATIONS.

D. MENTION OF THE UN CHARTER

VARIOUS PROBLEMS WERE PRESENTED BY THE MENTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, NOT ONLY IN PARAGRAPH 10 (THIRD SENTENCE OF THE INITIAL FRENCH DRAFT) BUT IN OTHER PASSAGES OF THE DECLARATION.

IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO TREAT THIS SUBJECT IN AN OVERALL WAY FOR THE WHOLE OF THE DECLARATION AND TO STUDY WHETHER A SINGLE FORMULA TO BE INSERTED IN THE PREAMBLE COULD NOT RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF THOSE MEMBER STATES FOR WHICH IT POSES A SPECIAL PROBLEM. THERE WOULD REMAIN IN THE PARAGRAPHS ON PRINCIPLES ONLY THE REFERENCES TO THE CHARTER WHICH WOULD BE JUSTIFIED FOR PARTICULAR REASONS.

E. THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION HAS BEEN SUGGESTED WITH A VIEW TO ITS INSERTION IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE DECLARATION, AFTER SOME MODIFICATION TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT EDITING OF POINT 6 OF THE FRENCH PREAMBLE: "NOTING THAT THE PRINCIPLES ENUMERATED BELOW CONFORM WITH (MUST BE INTERPRETED IN CONFORMITY WITH) THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, WHOSE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES MUST GUIDE THE CONDUCT OF ALL STATES."

THE IDEA CONTAINED IN THE FOURTH SENTENCE OF THE FRENCH DRAFT OF ARTICLE 10, WHICH QUOTES ARTICLE 103 OF THE CHARTER COULD BE MAINTAINED.

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F. THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION

THE DELEGATIONS OF THE NINE WILL SEEK TO HAVE REGISTERED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THE TEXT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE FORM IN WHICH IT WAS READ BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FIRST SUB-COMMITTEE ON DECEMBER 19.

G. INSERTION IN THE TEXTS OF THE DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES
WE SHOULD MAINTAIN OUR POSITION AGAINST HAVING
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A SINGLE DOCUMENT FOR THE WHOLE OF BASKET I. THERE WOULD BE SERIOUS DISADVANTAGES IN HAVING THE PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES APPEAR IN THE SAME TEXT. THE TWO SUBJECTS ARE VERY DIFFERENT. CBMS ARE NOT CLEARLY RELATED TO ANY SINGLE PRINCIPLE. THEY FLOW ONLY INDIRECTLY FROM THE RENUNCIATION OF THE THREAT OF FORCE. WE DO NOT THINK IT WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST TO PRESENT THEM AS IMPLEMENTING MEASURES FOR THE PRINCIPLES, FOR THIS WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO OTHER "IMPLEMENTING MEASURES," WITH THE RISK OF ADVANCING THE IDEA OF A NEW SECURITY SYSTEM. FURTHERMORE, THE SUBJECT OF CMBS IS MUCH MORE SPECIFIC THAN THAT OF THE PRINCIPLES. IN ADDITION, THE NATURE OF THE COMMITMENT FOR CBMS IS DIFFERENT THAN THAT FOR THE PRINCIPLES. WE THEREFORE SHOULD STICK TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AUTONOMY OF EACH OF THE DOCUMENTS TO BE DRAFTED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF COMMITTEE I.

H. ROMANIAN PROPOSAL ON NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE
THE DANGERS PRESENTED BY THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL WERE REDUCED DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. ONE MUST NEVERTHELESS TAKE CARE THAT CERTAIN PROVISIONS IN THIS DOCUMENT NOT BE USED TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF THE NINE. THE MOST IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IS THAT OF THE INSERTION OF THIS TEXT INTO THE FINAL DOCUMENT.

THE FOLLOWING POSSIBILITIES EXIST:

- A) SEPARATE RESOLUTION OR RECOMMENDATION;
- B) A TEXT APPEARING AS A SEPARATE SECTION OF THE DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES;
- C) A SINGLE TEXT WHICH WOULD TREAT THE ROMANIAN AND SWISS POINTS TOGETHER;

D) THE ROMANIAN TEXT, WITH OR WITHOUT THE SWISS
TEXT, AS AN APPENDIX TO THE DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES;
E) SPRINKLING OF THE ROMANIAN DOCUMENT'S AGREED
UPON POINTS THROUGHOUT VARIOUS CONFERENCE DOCUMENT.

PENDING FINAL PRESENTATION OF THE ROMANIAN DOCUMENT,
SOLUTION (A) IS PREFERRED BY THE NINE.

I. SWISS PROPOSAL ON THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES
THE SWISS DELEGATION HAS ANNOUNCED IT WILL TABLE A NEW
ENABLING PROPOSAL (PROJET DE DISPOSITIF). IT WILL PROBABLY BE
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A TEXT WHICH WILL ADDRESS PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS REQUIREING FURTHER
STUDY RATHER THAN SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. IF CERTAIN CONDITIONS ARE
MET, THIS PROPOSAL WOULD NOT GO AGAINST OUR INTERESTS. WE WILL
HAVE TO EXAMINE THE PROBLEM, PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF OUR

INTERESTS ON THE QUESTION OF CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP.

L. CBMS
THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOT SHOWN MUCH PROGRESS BECAUSE
OF SOVIET RIGIDITY AND THERE IS AS YET NO CLEAR INDICATION AS
TO THE PROSPECTS FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST OR AS TO
THEIR OUTCOME.

IN GENEVA THE NINE ARE CONFRONTED WITH A TACTICAL
PROBLEM. LEAVING THE PRECISE DEFINITION OF THE CRITERIA FOR
MODIFICATION OF MANEUVERS UNTIL THE LAST MOMENT HAS OBVIOUS
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONTENT OF SUCH MEASURES AS WELL AS FOR
THE FINAL BARGAINING SITUATION. THESE RISKS COULD BE REDUCED IF
THE NINE FIRMLY INFORMED THE EASTERN COUNTRIES THAT
SATISFACTORY RESULTS MUST BE OBTAINED IN THE SECOND PHASE WITHOUT
BEING PUT OFF UNTIL THE STAGE OF CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP, AND
THAT BALANCED PROGRESS IN THE VARIOUS AREAS OF THE CONFERENCE'S
NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE REESTABLISHED.

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE REAFFIRMS THAT THE POLITICAL
AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY ARE COMPLEMENTARY AND THEREFORE
A POSITIVE AND PRECISE POLITICAL COMMITMENT ON CBMS IS NEEDED.
THE COMMITTEE THINKS THE FOLLOWING POINTS ARE ESSENTIAL AT THE
PRESENT STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS:

A) AS TO THE TIMING, THE NINE WILL INSIST THAT
THE MAIN LINES OF AN ACCEPTABLE TEXT OF CBMS EMERGE BEFORE THE
CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST READING OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION ON
PRINCIPLES;
B) AS TO SUBSTANCE, CBMS MUST BE APPLIED TO THE
WHOLE OF EUROPE. THE NINE COULD ACCEPT EXCEPTIONS FOR PARTS
OF THE TERRITORIES OF THE USSR AND TURKEY, BUT CARE MUST BE
TAKEN NOT TO CREATE OTHER SPECIAL ZONES. FURTHERMORE,
NOTIFICATION MUST BE SENT TO ALL PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES.

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE THINKS THAT THIS ISSUE MUST
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BE FOLLOWED CLOSELY, IN CORRDINATION WITH OTHER INTERESTED
COUNTRIES, BECAUSE OF ITS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS.

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COMMITTEE III

M. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS SET AS GOALS: ON THE
ONE HAND, THE AFFIRMATION OF LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES AND GENERAL
RULES; ON THE OTHER, THE ADOPTION OF SPECIFIC MEASURES. THE
COMMITTEE ALSO SUGGESTED TO THE NINE THAT THEY AVOID RESTRICTIVE
FORMULAS WHICH MIGHT CANCEL THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THE AGREED
UPON ARRANGEMENTS. AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, THIS
PRECAUTION SHOULD APPLY TO ALL THREE BASKETS SO AS TO BE SURE

THAT RESTRICTIONS ON ONE OF THE BASKETS DO NOT EXTEND TO THE
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OTHER BASKETS.

IT IS ON HUMAN CONTACTS THAT DISCUSSION OF "AIMS AND RULES" HAS GONE THE FARTHEST. DENMARK, WITH THE SUPPORT OF FRANCE, HAS TABLED A DRAFT INTRODUCTORY TEXT, SETTING OUT THE COMMON AND PERMANENT OBJECTIVE OF FACILITATING FREE MOVEMENT AND CONTACTS. ADDED TO THIS IS THE IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING PRACTICES AS WELL AS THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EFFORTS AIMED AT CONTINUING PROGRESS IN THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE. THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF THIS TEXT, WHICH CONTAINS CERTAIN DIFFERENCES WITH THE ORIGINAL FRENCH TEXT, WAS TABLED SIMULTANEOUSLY BUT SEPARATELY BY POLAND AND APPROVED BY THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

OTHER DELEGATIONS HAVE HOWEVER EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT THIS TEXT, AND THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM HAVE TABLED TWO AMENDMENTS, THE FIRST OF WHICH WOULD MODIFY THE REFERENCE TO DETENTE AND THE SECOND WOULD STRENGTHEN THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT BY PARTICIPATING STATES IN THE FINAL PHASE. ALTHOUGH DENMARK AND FRANCE DO NOT SUPPORT THESE AMENDMENTS, THEIR DELEGATIONS AGREE THAT THEY WOULD REPRESENT AN IMPROVEMENT AND DENMARK AND FRANCE WILL NOT OPPOSE ATTEMPTS TO HAVE THE DUTCH AND BELGIAN AMENDMENTS ADOPTED. IT WILL ALSO BE NECESSARY TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS POSED BY THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN VERSIONS OF THE TEXT.

IN THE OTHER SUBCOMMITTEES, OTHER TEXTS NOW APPEAR POSSIBLE, SOMEWHAT LESS PRECISE AS REGARDS INFORMATION AND SOMEWHAT MORE PRECISE ON THE FRENCH DRAFT ON CULTURE. THE ALREADY AGREED UPON PREAMBLE ON EDUCATION IS SATISFACTORY IN THIS REGARD.

AS TO "CONCRETE MEASURES", THE SITUATION IS AS FOLLOWS: HUMAN CONTACTS. COMPROMISES HAVE BEEN REACHED ON MEETINGS OF FAMILIES, FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE (POSITIVE OR FAVORABLE AND PROMPT HANDLING OF REQUESTS, REASONABLE FEES, RENEWAL OF REQUESTS, PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF APPLICANTS).

IN ADDITION TO THE INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH, AGREEMENT REMAINS TO BE REACHED ON THE TEXT OF TRAVEL FORMALITIES, AND ESSENTIAL POINT ON WHICH SERIOUS DIFFERENCES CONTINUE. THE TEXT ON TOURISM AND YOUTH (WHICH INCLUDES THE QUESTION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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TOURIST INFORMATION OFFICES) HAS NOT YET BEEN DISCUSSED. INFORMATION. COMPROMISES HAVE ALSO BEEN REACHED ON WRITTEN INFORMATION, BOTH FOR CIRCULATION (IMPORTATION OF A LARGER NUMBER OF COPIES AND TITLES) AS WELL AS FOR ACCESS BY THE

PUBLIC (INCREASING THE NUMBER OF SALES OUTLETS, SUBSCRIPTIONS).
A SECONDARY TEXT HAS ALSO BEEN AGREED UPON FOR COOPERATION AND
EXCHANGES.

TWO IMPORTANT POINTS REMAIN TO BE SETTLED: AUDIO-VISUAL
INFORMATION AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. ON THE
FIRST POINT, OUR PROSPECTS FOR REACHING SIGNIFICANT RESULTS SEEM
SLIGHT. THE PRICE TO PAY FOR A SOVIET COMMITMENT TO STOP
JAMMING OR EVEN TO CONSOLIDATE THE RECENTLY IMPROVED SITUATION
IN THIS REGARD WOULD APPARENTLY BE THAT THE WEST RECOGNIZE THE
RESPONSIBILITY OF STATES FOR BROADCASTING, AND THIS WOULD POSE
SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE NINE. WE COULD LIMIT OURSELVES TO
REQUESTING AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE THE CESSATION OF JAMMING AND,
IF WE FAIL, INFORM THE WESTERN PRESS OF OUR GALLANT ATTEMPT. IT
ALSO REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER A MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT CAN BE
REACHED ON PUBLICATION OF WAVE LENGTHS OF FOREIGN BROADCASTS.
THERE ARE, ON THE OTHER HAND, REASONS TO HOPE THAT WORKING
CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A MEANINGFUL
AGREEMENT (ENTRY DOCUMENTS, WORKING CONDITIONS, IMPORTATION OF
EQUIPMENT, TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION). IN ADDITION, A TEXT
HAS BEEN PROPOSED AND DISCUSSED WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE
PUBLICATION AND CIRCULATION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS OF CSCE.

CULTURE. TEXTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN REGISTERED AND UNOFFICIALLY
AGREED UPON ON SEVERAL IMPORTANT POINTS REGARDING BOOKS
(SUPPLYING OF LIBRARIES AND BOOKSTORES WITH FOREIGN BOOKS,
INCREASING THE NUMBER OF SALES OUTLETS). THE PROBLEM OF CONTACTS
BETWEEN AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS IS THE SUBJECT OF BILATERAL
TALKS. AS CONCERNS THE MOVEMENT OF CULTURAL POSSESSIONS, FOR
VARIOUS REASONS (THE SOVIET POSITION THAT THIS IS PART OF
ABSKEII; RESERVATIONS BY CERTAIN WESTERN DELEGATIONS) WE
HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE ONLY VERY GENERAL PROVISIONS PROVIDING
MEARLY FOR STUDIES OR MEETINGS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF
INTERESTED ORGANIZATIONS.

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BUT A CERTAIN NUMBER OF TEXTS AND IMPORTANT POINTS ARE STILL UNRESOLVED: IN ADDITION TO THE AS YET UNSTUDIED DRAFT DECLARATION (ON WHICH ACCEPTANCE OF OUR FIVE OBJECTIVES WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT), AGREEMENT REMAINS TO BE REACHED ON FOREIGN READING ROOMS (WHICH THE SOVIETS ALONE CONTINUE STUBBORNLY TO REFUSE), ON CONTACTS BETWEEN AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS (WHICH WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT POINTS BECAUSE OF ITS IMPLICATIONS), ON THE TRANSFER OF ARTISTS' FEES (ON WHICH THE USSR IS VERY NEGATIVE, YUGOSLAVIA FAVORABLE, AND THE AMERICANS STRONGLY CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERESTED).

EDUCATION. THIS SUBCOMMITTEE HAS PRACTICALLY FINISHED MOST OF ITS WORK. OUR ESSENTIAL AIMS HAVE BEEN ALMOST REACHED ON DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN EDUCATORS AND SCIENTISTS (ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT APPEAR IN THE HELSINKI MANDATE) AND ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS. A GOOD TEXT HAS ALSO BEEN REGISTERED ON THE DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES. THERE ONLY REMAINS THE REGISTRATION OF THE PREAMBLE (ALREADY AGREED UPON IN FACT) AND THE DISCUSSION OF A NON-POLITICAL PROPOSAL ON TEACHING EXCHANGES.

ON THE WHOLE, AND WITH THE RESERVATION THAT THESE RESULTS CANNOT BE CONSIDERED COMPLETELY FINAL (TEXTS ARE ONLY PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED AND THEIR EFFECT CAN BE MODIFIED BY INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN AGREED UPON), IT APPEARS THAT THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE BASKET III NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE DRAWN UP AS FOLLOWS: AGREEMENT HAS BEEN OR IS ABOUT TO BE REACHED ON THREE-FIFTHS OF THE TEXTS. THESE CAN BE DIVIDED AS FOLLOWS: BY ORDER OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED: EDUCATION (FIVE TEXTS OUT OF SIX), CONTACTS (FOUR TEXTS OUT OF SEVEN), INFORMATION (FOUR TEXTS OUT OF SEVEN), CULTURE (NEARLY THREE TEXTS OUT OF SIX). IT CAN BE SAID THAT SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS HAVE

BEEN ACHIEVED, BUT WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN OBTAINED IS NOT OF A NATURE THAT WE COULD IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS STOP INSISTING ON THE ESSENTIAL POINTS ON WHICH SOLUTIONS STILL MUST BE FOUND.

N. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT APPEARS NEITHER NECESSARY NOR DESIRABLE TO CHANGE THE COMMON GUIDELINES GIVEN TO THE DELEGATIONS OF THE NINE. THESE GUIDELINES, WHICH IN PARTICULAR BY REQUIRING A DETAILED FIRST READING OF ALL TEXTS AND BY PUTTING THE NEGOTIATORS ON THEIR GUARD AGAINST THE ABUSE OF RESTRICTIVE CLAUSES, HAVE PERMITTED EFFECTIVE WORK TO DATE AND HAVE ALLOWED US ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS TO FOIL ATTEMPTS BY OTHERS TO JOSTLE THE NEGOTIATIONS. THESE GUIDELINES THEREFORE SHOULD BE APPLIED UNTIL THE END OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

O. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE QUESTION ARISES WHETHER IN VIEW OF THE UNEVEN RATE OF PROGRESS IN THE SUBCOMMITTEES, IT WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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NOT BE APPROPRIATE TO REARRANGE THE TACTICAL ORDER OF THE DISCUSSIONS. IF WE REJECT OUT OF HAND THE IDEA OF DELIBERATE DELAYS IN THE WORK OF ONE OR THE OTHER SUBCOMMITTEE SO AS TO ALLOW OTHERS TO CATCH UP, AND IF ONE ACCEPTS THE IDEA THAT EACH SUBCOMMITTEE SHOULD WORK AT ITS OWN SPEED WITH THE IDEA OF RESERVING FOR THE FINAL STAGES OF NEGOTIATIONS (AND FOR BARGAINING BETWEEN BASKETS) THE FEW UNDECIDED ESSENTIAL POINTS, THE BEST COURSE WOULD SEEM TO BE TO ALLOW WORK TO BE COMPLETED AS POSSIBILITIES ALLOW. WE CAN FORESEE THAT THE THREE OTHER SUBCOMMITTEES WILL HAVE COMPLETED THEIR WORK BEFORE THE CULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE FINISHES AND EFFORTS COULD THEN BE CONCENTRATED ON THE LATTER SUBCOMMITTEE. WITHIN THE CULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE WE COULD THEN DISTINGUISH THE ESSENTIAL POINTS (READING ROOMS, CONTACTS, AND THE AIMS OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION) FROM TEXTS OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. AS TO THE LATTER TEXTS, COMPROMISES ON OUR SIDE MIGHT BE POSSIBLE IF WE COULD THEREBY OBTAIN ADVANTAGES IN OTHER AREAS.

P. FOLLOW-UP. IN THE DISCUSSION ON CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP, THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM WAS NOT REALLY TAKEN UP. THIS CORRESPONDS TO OUR POSITION THAT THIS ISSUE MUST BE STUDIED IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE.

WE CAN FORESEE THAT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS, THIS PROBLEM WILL BE ONE OF THE MAIN ISSUES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Q. THE DRAFTING OF A DECLARATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN, ON THE BASIS OF THE ITALIAN DRAFT, AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS IN THE NON-ALIGNED PROPOSAL, IS CONTINUING IS A SATISFACTORY MANNER.

R. PREPARATION OF DECISIONS CONCERNING PHASE III. AT THE

APPROPRIATE TIME, WE SHOULD CLOSELY COORDINATE OUR POSITIONS
ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- THE STAGE AT WHICH THE COORDINATION COMMITTEE SHOULD
ACTIVELY BEGIN STUDYING PREPARATION FOR THE THIRD PHASE;

- THE QUESTIONS WHICH THE COMMITTEE WILL HAVE TO STUDY
CONCERNING DATES, PROCEDURAL RULES AND THE NATURE OF THE
DELIBERATIONS. END TEXT.BRUCE
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TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, NATO
To: STATE INFO BONN
BRUSSELS
COPENHAGEN
DUBLIN
THE HAGUE
LONDON

LUXEMBOURG
MOSCOW
PARIS
ROME
EC BRUSSELS
GENEVA
MBFR VIENNA

Type: TE

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